

## Foreword

The present work, which I hereby present to the public, was largely written many years ago. I had begun it for the purpose of clarifying for myself, for my lectures at the University of Berlin, the question whether all Indo-European peoples were blond when they first appeared, whether the blond hair color was confined exclusively to them – with the exception, of course, of the Finns, who are to be treated specially – and what is the cause that, when they penetrated into foreign lands, they lost in time the physical characteristics by which they had differed from their neighbors, for the most part or for the most part. For this purpose I collected the testimonies of the ancients about their and their neighbors' hair color, but I did not limit myself to information about the individual peoples, but also compiled the personalities of whom we have news, either through literature or through works of art that have come down to us. I also believed I had to include gods, heroes and novel heroes. After all, they bear eloquent witness to the ideas that the time that spoke of them had about their appearance.

The continuation or rather the conclusion of the work should be the treatment of the question of the original homeland of the Indo-Europeans, the question of the landscape in which they developed from a tribe of the Mediterranean race into a people with white skin, blond hair, blue eyes, an open gaze and open mind, and a different language, who were mentally and physically superior to their earlier neighbors. Along with the majority of today's researchers, I believed I had to look for this landscape where the Indo-Europeans are still to be found today in the purest and largest numbers, in the North German Plain. There is probably no solution closer than this. Even the layman knows that the

8

## Foreword

the most thorough connoisseurs of German prehistory still support it today.

hU But I soon began to doubt its correctness. If the climate of northern Germany in the early Stone Age was able to exert such a strong influence on the inhabitants there that they changed physically and mentally to such a significant extent, it had naturally reduced its influence just as slowly and gradually in the neighboring region, where it slowly and gradually moved away from northern Germany. The boundary of the North German climate was not marked by a boundary post, it was bound to a specific location. The landscapes in the near west, east and south must have had a reduced influence from it. A transition must have taken place from the center, from the place where the northern German climate was most strongly asserted, to the border where it ceased. The neighbors of the original homeland must have been affected by the blessings of the climate, even if to a lesser extent. However, there is no trace of such a transition. It is so lacking that each adherent of the doctrine that the original homeland is to be sought here claims a different part of the German or Germanic north. In their efforts to find a boundary, everyone blurs it into the boundless. Linguistically, too, every connection with the surrounding peoples is torn apart. The landscape in which the Indo-Europeans developed must therefore have been completely closed off from its neighbors by some kind of barrier; there can have been no contact between the two. It must have been an island of considerable size where the people who developed into Indo-Europeans lived for many millennia during and at the end of the Ice Age. But where is the island that has the characteristic we are looking for? Shortly before his death, Fr. Ratzel had taught me that southern Russia was an island in the Ice Age, bordered to the south by the Black Sea, which at that time

extended much further north and still covered the Crimea and its surroundings. In the north, the land was frozen over in a strongly curved expanse. In the west, the

## foreword

Romanian lowlands were covered by water that reached as far as the southern border of the Ukraine; in the east, however, the Caspian Sea, which extended to 55 degrees, closed the country off from Asia. Ratzel himself, who had already made these remarks at various parts of a study published in the reports of the *Sachs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 52 (1900) 23ff. and illustrated by a map drawn by E. Friedrich, did not use his findings to determine the homeland of the Indo-Europeans. He was too certain of their origin in a vast area encompassing the whole of western Asia and eastern Europe. For me, however, the information was an enlightenment; I believed I could now solve the question of their homeland.

On the newly discovered former island, as in the whole of Europe and the countries of the Mediterranean, once lived members of the Mediterranean or, as it is now often called, the Western race. When the ice age broke out and most of the countries of the north became uninhabitable, their former inhabitants retreated to warmer regions, where they enjoyed a dignified existence free from the discomfort of unbearable cold. Only the nomads of southern Russia found it impossible to leave their former homeland. The way to warmer countries was barred to them. The land on which they lived only yielded crops for four months of the year for them and the few cattle they had. For eight months it failed. For six months they suffered from the cold, which was difficult to bear. It was a hard lot that had fallen to them. If they did not want to starve and freeze to death with their livestock, they could not just worry about the present and the immediate future, as they had done up to now and as their fellow tribesmen who had migrated to warmer countries could still do. In order to endure the cold, they had to provide warmer clothing, build dwellings, dig caves under the ground and solve the difficult task of obtaining food for themselves and their livestock for the winter. In the millennia when the cold that afflicted the northern hemisphere reached its peak, it was also present in southern Russia, if-

## Foreword

10

significantly alleviated, it was nevertheless difficult to bear. It will have almost crushed the inhabitants there with its severity, just as the Eskimo in eastern Greenland had to fight hard for their existence unless European culture came to their aid. When it finally started to get warmer again, life for the islanders became more bearable. The climate, it seems, now had an educational effect. The winters had become shorter and they had learned to alleviate their severity by artificial means. The yield of the soil had increased; their cattle breeding had become more varied; in some areas they had switched to agriculture. Their bodies were strengthened by the work they had to do, but their strength was no longer exhausted by the cold; thinking ahead, caring for the welfare of future times, was now more appealing than before; they learned to organize to a greater extent than before. I don't know whether these considerations are the right ones. We do not know what forces may have played a part in such changes. What we do know is that when the ice age ended, the islanders, in their isolation, had become physically and mentally superior to their earlier tribesmen. They were taller and stronger, and also brought with them a talent for organization and ingenuity that was denied to the others to this extent, and is still characteristic of Germanic peoples today. Germans, Englishmen, Dutchmen and North

Americans still excel every other people in these arts. The heaven under which their ancestors once lived has given them this gift. The fact that their skin and hair had also changed color is in itself incidental; but it serves us as an identifying mark of the newly formed race. The two groups of peoples resembled two brothers, the younger of whom was accustomed to work, exertion and self-discipline by his insightful father from an early age, while the first-born was relieved of any major exertion by his tender mother. When both grew up, the younger was a man who far surpassed his elder brother in energy, efficiency and activity, while the latter lagged behind by just as much.

## Foreword

n

But the meeting of the two brothers did not take place as quickly as one might think from these words" It only took place when the land connection between the Russian island and Europe was re-established" This may have been around 3000 BC. Around the same time - we cannot estimate it at a few hundred years - the connection to Asia will also have been re-established. In the long period since the climate had become milder, the population of the island had naturally increased." In the vast land, which was slowly expanding as the ice melted away, two tribes had formed, which we tend to call the Kentish and Satem tribes according to a linguistic characteristic, and these again broke up into several groups. When the paths to the east and west became clear, all those who were striving for a land more suited to their desires streamed out of their cramped homeland." To the east, the Iranians, who belonged to the Satem tribe, and their neighbors, the Tochars, who belong to the Kentum group, advanced as far as India along a path that cannot be determined with certainty. The Hellenes, Thracians, Illyrians, Italians and Celts moved westwards, the first of whom invaded the Balkan peninsula, the Italians the Apennine peninsula, where they made themselves masters of the populations there. When the north also became habitable somewhat later, Slavs and Latvians slowly advanced towards it. The Celts came furthest, settling first in southern Germany, as far as it had become habitable. They also found their new homeland already occupied. Broadly harmful Turanians had long since settled here, pushing their way through the north of the Balkan peninsula from Asia Minor, and had even established themselves in small numbers in southern France, but had come under the rule of the advancing Dolikephalian Ligurians. This mixed population was partly expelled by the Celts, partly exterminated, but also partly reduced to serfs. They were allowed to continue to live as freemen, who had to hand over a large part of the remaining land to their new masters. Over time, the population of the two

## Foreword

12

The invading Celts must have numbered only a few thousand at one time; the inhabitants they encountered were hardly many more. Gradually, however, the land was cultivated to a greater extent, and the need to spread out arose. When it came to the question of which direction this should take, the neighboring France, which was only sparsely populated by Ligurians, presented itself, as did central and northern Germany, which had not been cultivated again since the Ice Age. The Celts advanced in both directions. As far as they chose the latter, it was new territory that they cultivated. A ver sacrum was equipped. The young people of a community founded a new settlement a few miles further north on their behalf. To make building easier, they were given tools with which they could fell trees and

cultivate the land. They were also given the cattle and food they needed for the next few months to set up a household. What they were not given, however, were the farmhands who were subordinate to the community. Naturally, they remained tied to the farm where they were. If a Russian nobleman wanted to give a younger son the means to buy an estate in Poland or the Baltic provinces at the time of serfdom there, he could grant him any amount of money he wanted, but there was one thing he could not do: he could not give away the people on his own estate who were tied to the place; they remained tied to the place where they were settled. The new settlements created by the Celts thus only received Celtic inhabitants, while a mixed population remained in the homeland they left behind. Over the centuries, the whole of northern Germany was filled with purely Celtic inhabitants, while in the south and on the other side of the Rhine, the two races living side by side began to merge. In the other countries, too, into which Indo-Germanic peoples had penetrated – they have been mentioned above – they had in time merged with the inhabitants there. Only northern Germany, in the

## Foreword

13

the settlers preserved the purest Indo-Germanic blood, and thus afford the curious spectacle of possessing this quality, although they are a thousand miles distant from the original homeland, and the inhabitants of this original homeland are among the most mixed with foreign blood. The North German Celts, who were spared from intermingling with other tribes and enjoyed a more undisturbed development than their earlier tribal brothers, were also the ones who subsequently received a special name from them, the origin of which has not yet been clarified, that of the Germanic tribes. Linguistically, the two gradually differentiated themselves, as is natural under the prevailing circumstances, but remained closely related for a long time, so that it is often difficult for us to recognize whether names are Celtic or Germanic.

I had come so far in my deliberations in 1905, your record was almost complete, so that I now thought of publishing it after all. In order to accomplish this, however, if my book was not to remain a torso, I had to describe the traits of the individual Indo-European tribes from the island on which they formed to the land in which they settled, in order to show that these migrations were compatible with my assumption of the original homeland. I had to do this all the more because my colleague Kossinna, in particular, believed in his latest writings that he could prove the homeland in northern Germany and trace the traits of the Indo-European tribes from there to the countries where they were later attested by exploring the graves of the Early and Middle Stone Age. But to work through this literature, which was constantly growing as a result of his and his student friends' activities, in such a way that I was able to master it scientifically, was beyond my field of work; repeatedly the finds I read about spoke much more in favor of my view of the Indo-European homeland than that of my opponents; sometimes – but only rarely – the opposite occurred. But of the serious reasons for the complete separation of the Heimat from the rest of the

## Foreword

world, no one said a word. I had no inclination to familiarize myself with a foreign field in such a way that my book could stand up academically, and my interest had been taken up by other tasks in the meantime. But I did not want to publish a torso and so the manuscript remained unpublished. A few

years ago, the publisher Julius Fr. Lehmann, who had long been a deserving figure in the study of Germanic antiquity, heard about the manuscript from one of my colleagues and, although there was nothing to hope for financially, offered me, in his usual selflessness, to have it printed ^ as a tempting prospect, but I still shied away from handing over a torso to the public. When Mr. Lehmann approached me again, even though the bookselling market had once again become more intimidating, and suggested to me that it would be a pity if the work, which had been useful to many, were to perish after my death, I agreed, added a few addenda, and tweaked the presentation here and there. I hope that it will be of use to some for future research and help to put an end to the belief, nourished by a general patriotism, that the Germanic peoples are the forefathers of the Indo-Germanic peoples. They are not their forefathers, but a branch of them like any other, except that they have preserved themselves much purer and more unmixed than the others, and have therefore preserved the advantages of their ancestors more fully. In any case, the assumption that the Indo-Europeans set out from the Russian Island for their later settlements and colonized new territory in Germany explains their racial purity there better and more freely than any other. We no longer need to inquire into the nature of their origin. The fact that the Hittites in eastern Asia Minor and the Tocharians in eastern Turkestan belong to the Kentum group (the western group) no longer causes any difficulty, while the previous assumption that the two were formed in the third millennium – the time demanded by the news about the Hittites – is no longer valid.

## Preface

15

thites – moved from western Germany to the farthest east, presupposes a march that was incomprehensible at the time! If the Celts suffered so much from lack of space soon after their arrival in northern Germany that the acquisition of new settlements was a necessity for them, the idea of occupying new territories in nearby France was a thousand times more obvious than moving to the farthest east, which was not even known by hearsay. The fact that we find only a few purely Indo-European populations in Russia itself is easily explained by the early Turanian immigration, which could easily take possession of the half-deserted land,' which had already occurred in the days of Herodotus and was repeated several times in the following period.

Already 50 years ago, Schröder in particular, without thinking of the reasons I have given, fought for southern Russia as the homeland of the Indo-Germanic peoples. His thesis was mostly received with applause, but in the last decades it has lost support, mainly due to Kossinna's influence and now due to Hans F. K. Günther's masterpieces. The future will decide which hypothesis deserves preference.

As far as the layout of the present work is concerned, I have divided the various personalities whose hair color is attested into groups according to the peoples and tribes to which they belong. This was easier intended than accomplished. The Roman *hetaerae*, for example, about whom we have news, were hardly all Roman women; nevertheless, with a heavy heart, I have mostly listed them under Italy. If they had a Greek name, I usually assigned them to the Greeks, knowing full well that this proved nothing in Rome in imperial times. There was no certainty to be gained. The origin of the slaves who were taken in is also often unknown. Strict consistency in their distribution was not recommended for various reasons. If it was not even possible to make an assumption about the origin, I put the man or girl among the "personalities of unknown origin" but stated what we knew about each of them. At the end

## Foreword

the book itself of the register overcomes all such difficulties.

be dealt with. How we

Of course "Bte" e " d, u e n " e : e " for the most part.

SE f e " S1 ^ Only night, vengeance and death gods could not be thought blond. although some at times

cloth blond^ermnnt'were^separated^from^the day gods and made them

to a special the gods and heroes supposedly

Since the designation dw color, ^i^GodWi^ ^ ^

was peculiar, practically d atarilch repeatedly occur that

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G DrÄngäben ne d h eT Diktys of Crete, Malalas, Isaak Porphyre- D ♦", S Tzetzes etc. about the shape and appearance of the . L n u e iden are certainly worthless in detail, but they do reflect the stucture that the reading of the ancient mythographers and poets had evoked, and so I have, ifgle.ch

m t" m lrrge z rprivt=rdie a. names Xanthos,

Xuthos or Pyfrhos, I have not listed any of them without the correspondence of name and appearance.

was handed down, although this was intended to betray the ° of the man with it. n r g

no concern about the persons of the Heroic Age who allegedly "took" him. With these, he was undoubtedly to have the appearance

Ve Au "h d novel characters I have, as already mentioned,

i.e. persons who never lived, but p hantas,e

of the authors from whom they originated.

gln a not to be underestimated picture of what the authors

the authors had of the circles in which they set the novel.

## Preface

Of the museums that seemed valuable for the present purpose, I was able to search all the more important ones in Germany, England, France, Greece, Italy, Austria, Spain and Egypt; unfortunately I was unable to see those in St. Petersburg, Constantinople and Smyrna. I have also not read some of the latest papyrus finds. Hopefully a younger person will succeed in making up for this omission and completing the lists presented in this book\*

Munich, October 1934, W. Sieglin

Sfeglin, hair color

2

I

The hair color of the Indo-European peoples of antiquity

In the present paper I have sought to answer the question whether it is true, as has recently been asserted by distinguished scholars, but not proved, that all Indo-European peoples in earliest antiquity were blond. I am also interested in the further question of how to explain the strange phenomenon that the blond hair color has more or less disappeared over the millennia among all peoples who were endowed with it, and in some cases almost completely. For a third question, the place of origin of the Indo-European race, the solution of the two problems is of decisive importance. In order to arrive at the desired clarity, we have no other way than to examine the Aryan peoples one by one according to their hair color and its changes in a lengthy, sometimes mindless process. We must start with the Germanic peoples, whose blond color is most strongly emphasized by the authors of antiquity, and today, together with that of the Scandinavian peoples, has diminished the least. But even in Germany there is no longer any place where the blond color has been preserved among all inhabitants, in contrast to Scandinavia, especially Norway, where it is still not uncommon to find it.

That the

Teutons

were certainly blond, or rather reddish-blond, in antiquity is consistently attested from Poseidonius onwards. They are called blond (Λαυσοί, flavi) in Strab. p. 290 and Manil.

IV, 715, both of which go back to Poseidonius, in Anon, de physiogn. 14 (Script, physiogn. II, 23 Förster); Lucan X, 129; Juvenal

V, 13, 164; Auson. IX, 3, 10 p. 136 Peip.; Herodian. hist. IV, 7; Avien descn t.419; Claudian 21, 203, Iluppoi, rutili, rufi are called their hair Seneca de ira III, 26, 3; Suetonius Calig.47; Calpurn.

‡f| The hair color of the Indo-European people

" Germ 4\* Aeric. 11; Galen, de temp. II, 5

Flaccus, declam. 2, T - 'j J Buhlknaben, mostly young

P- 68 Hdm ; - L\*- , SÄ2at partly received as hostages, partly barbarians, whom the emperor L \_ IV 95 n  
we rden for their

had bought" (Zosimos , , , \_ Germanic

larger part Germanic "'Ährung came, the

blond or reddish hair color is emphasized again and again, from the

Alamanni Amm XX^ ^ Marm

Franks" Apollin. Sidon. carm. V, 238 p.264 Mohr; Maurik.

strateg. x, 4, 1. - ,

Oepides "\*<\*-■ b^Van- ^ 8 \_ M . 35 \_ 65 p. 111;

Goths, Procopius, - ' 57 . ep . 107 ad Heliodorum p.870

274 Koch; Hieron^ep. L, ^ regn0 22 calls

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the Goths , Geten .

t onsobards, Mauric. strateg. X, 4, 1.

Rugier, Prokop, b. Got. III, 2, according to which they belong to the Goths. . .

Saxones, Hieran, vita Hilanon. 22.

Cook; Apollin. Sidon. carm. VII, 42 p. 2/ / moni ,

14, 49.

Teutones, Martial XIV, 26.

Usipians, Martial VI, 60, 3. . r



Vandals, Claudian 21, 38 p. 141 K. Prokop a. a. 0, counts them, like the Gepids and Rugians, among the Goths.

Individuals whose hair color is mentioned are known to me; they are counted in the second part of this writing N. and are all blond. ,

The Celts were also known to the ancients to be blond Diodo

V, 28, 1; Strab. p. 290; Manil. IV 713; Uv. XXXVII , , Galen, de temp. II, 5; Adamant. physiogn.II, 37 p.393 forster,

Germanic tribes and Celts

21

Amm. Marc. XV, 12, I; Claudian 5, 110; 22, 240 p. 26 and 157 K.; Giern. Alex. paed. HI, 3, 24; Tertullian de cultu femin. 11, 6. To these testimonies are added Ps.-Aristoteles, probl. 38, 2; Poiemon phys. 33 p. 238 F.; Vitruvius VI, 1, 3; Plin, II, 189; Adamant. phys. II, 31 p.383 F., assigning the blond and reddish hair color to all northerners. Occasional remarks on individual Celtic tribes and persons agree with this.

Propert. III, 11, 4 (II, 18, 26) the Roman Cynthia dyed her hair to Belgian color.

Lucan III, 78 calls the Britanni flavi. Paneg. lat. 5, 16 p. 143 Baehr. are their corpora prolixo crine rutilantia. But Strab. p, 200 the Bretans (as he calls them) in the island of the same name are less blond than the Celts of the mainland. When Tacitus Agricola 11 says that rutilae Caledoniam habitantium comae, magni artus Germanicam originem adseverant, his conclusion is wrong, but it testifies anew to the appearance of the Britons. On the mainland appear Tiburi I, 7, 12 the Carnutes, Lucan I, 402 the Ruteni flavi; a scholiast published by Weber, who was aware that Celtic ruad, rudd, ruth means 'red', says, for example, that the Ruteni are a rubedine capillorum dicti. Virgil, Aen. VIII, 659 characterized the Gauls who conquered Rome as the Senones, aurea caesaries. The Trocmi, the Tolistobogii and Tectosages of Galatia also had promissae et rutilatae comae (Liv. XXXVIII, 17, 3). Only the Silures in Wales, whose colorati vultus, torti pierumque crines are described by Tacitus Agricola 11, are known to Iordanes Get. 2, who had the Tacitus passage before him, reports, Silorum colorati vultus, torto pierique crine et nigro nascuntur. Whether the addition, which is factually correct, owes its origin to Iordanes himself or whether he had a better text in front of him cannot be decided. I would like to assume the latter. The Dark Silures undoubtedly belong to the indigenous British population that lived on the island before the Celts invaded. However, due to the mixing with the Ligurian indigenous population, the blond color of the Gallic hair had begun to darken early on. As early as the middle of the first century, the emperor Caligula had selected a number of particularly tall Gauls to be disguised as captured Germanic tribesmen in his triumph over the supposedly defeated Germania.

22 The hair color of the Indo-European peoples of antiquity

were to appear. To complete the deception, he had to force them to

he had to force them to rutilare <sup>10</sup> part of the population

Nowadays best \* "och d" kiemerej^ ^ du[)!slhaarig .

Germany from blondes, d less the wall-

H hab r m!^ ÄÄÄSnd? only gone through with the lung. France is hardly a

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3u3Exzzzss2£\* ~ rstitt" s-ts

But where does the change come from, which affects the broad mass of the people in Germany as well as in France, that children born of marriages between blond and black-haired parents do not belong exclusively to one or the other type, nor are they evenly distributed between the two, but that the larger part belong to the dark, the smaller to the light type Out of 100 children born in such mixed marriages, about 55 belong to the dark, 45 to the blond or light blond type. Of 167 children that I observed in the years 1897-1904, 92 belong to the former and 75 to the latter. In making this calculation I had to disregard the fact that some of the children were blond at the time I saw them, but their hair may have darkened later in their development. I would like to mention an interesting case I observed in this context. A child whose both parents and three of the grandparents were blond - only the paternal grandfather was black - was born with raven-black hair, which faded out after a few weeks. Light blond hair took its place, which then slowly turned dark again during the years of development, finally becoming a completely chestnut brown. The man she married was blond, as were both her parents. The precondition for the expectation that

Teutons and Celts

23

The precondition for the expectation that children from this marriage, whose four grandparents were blond, would have and keep a light hair color was thus given\* But the two boys who were born showed a shiny blond when the first hair sprouted, but this darkened as the boys grew up. The one black-haired great-grandfather, whose pure Aryanism was beyond all doubt, was the one who had asserted himself in the fourth generation\*

As a result of this law of nature, it must happen that peoples who originally had a small percentage of dark elements among them develop predominantly into such in the course of 2-3000 years. The blond Celts and Germanic peoples lost their original hair color over time by mixing with the original population that they encountered when they immigrated to their present settlements. This indigenous population will have been small in number in Germany and northern France; it was probably largely destroyed during immigration, the rest forced into servitude. The Celts only entered the Langue d'oe shortly before 400. As the place names prove, which are Celtic almost only in the fertile Rhone valley and in the lowlands of western Provence, but mostly Ligurian in eastern Provence, the Alps, the Cévennes and the Pyrenees, the conquerors formed at most half of the population in the southern seats. The Frenchman in the Langue d'oi'I is a purer Celt than in the Langue d'oe and has lost the blond hair

color of his ancestors less than his fellow tribesmen in the south. In southern Germany, the blond type is at home in Württemberg, Baden and Alsace, where I have traced it more closely, mainly in the fertile valleys of the Rhine, Neckar and their tributaries. Dark hair color is predominant in the rough valleys of the Vosges, the Black Forest and the Upper Schwaben. In southern Germany, too, the conqueror laid claim to the fertile regions and partly destroyed the indigenous population, partly chased them into the inhospitable mountains and side valleys\* This indigenous population belongs partly to the same tribe as the Ligurians, as evidenced by a number of common place and mountain names; as the broad-skinned descendants, who sit among the long-skinned people of Central Europe, show, it owes its origin to a Turanian invasion that advanced from Asia Minor to the Balkans after the Ice Age, then to southern Europe.

## 24 The hair color of the Indo-European peoples of antiquity

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Germany M mixed indigenous population dark-

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Inhabitants of the westernmost Mediterranean countries have this characteristic.

ö (u For England it is due to the Silures (p.21) er-

Edda, the two races side by side

nHer knows a blond and a brown (Penka, Origen Anacae Sardinia and Corsica form the industrious p.22),bar f have not suffered any Aryan immigration;

are consistently Schwarzhaang

andDamaged, the Ligurians were just as long-skinned as d,e ,ndo undü langscnau g & {their later masters, distinguished

JcTjTbut from these, apart from the color of their hair, they were inferior in physical strength and martial prowess, a deficiency which they were not able to compensate for by their greater agility and innate tendency to cunning and slyness. They were unable to train stronger truoThe masses C militarily and accustom them to obey the command of a single man without exception 6I J'

they were unable to do so. That is why they performed better in small-scale warfare than in open field battles, where they were regularly defeated. They also differed - to name at least one of their spiritual characteristics - in their lesser

Their minds were more focused on the worries of the next few days than the distant future. Subdued, they initially adapted with difficulty to the new oidn g, a , but when they saw that all resistance was futile, they gave it up

soon merged with their masters and ^ liah ^\ff " language. Interesting is the testimony of the old Cato, who lived with them in the times of the struggle and characterized them contemptuously in Fr. 31 and 32: *Ligures inhterati mendacesque omnes failaces sunt*. The same reproach was made against them by the honorable Nigidius Figulus, a contemporary of Cicero, in ^ ^ '

*Ligures, qui Appenninum tenuerunt, latrones, msidiosi, failaces, m daces*. Vergil *Aen.* XI, 711 f. describes the *faliacitas* of the Ligurians.\*)

" With this harsh judgment agrees a still widespread in Italy today, the ligu-

kdne T""', the friends no Schum." Ei" "mische. Scholar, was cs, who shared the proverb with me.

Ligurians and Basques

25

How much more praiseworthy are the words spoken by the same Cato fr. 34 of the Celts, who had long been the Romans' most dangerous enemies: *pleraque Gallia duas res industriosissime persequitur, rem militarem et argute loqui*. "There are two things to which most Gauls turn their most ardent interest, everything connected with war, and the art of showing spirit and wit in speech."

Nowadays, the last small remnant of Ligurians who have preserved their language are the Basques, who are slowly disappearing on both sides of the westernmost Pyrenees in a remote corner of the world. They are doing this slowly <- in the Spanish part more slowly than in the French- because in the remote corner to which they are confined they are absorbed to a far lesser degree by the surrounding, overpowering French and Spanish than if they lived on a thoroughfare and were in heavy trade with them. But their language is no longer entirely pure either. Likewise, the peculiarities of the land they inhabit and the disastrous fates they have suffered over the centuries have influenced their character, which is not the same in Gascony as in the Spanish part. The Gascon is more industrious, more intelligent, more educated; he has learned to read and write almost universally, an art that I rarely encountered among his brothers in the south of the Pyrenees. He is also freer and more enlightened towards the Church. He criticizes it and its servants unabashedly, probably mocking them occasionally, while the southern Basque reveres both submissively. The Reformation has never found favor with the latter, while in the north it had to be suppressed by force. When I traveled through their country in 1902, I was particularly struck in the Spanish part by the strong tendency towards the mystical that lives there. Their churches are so dark that it is difficult for the faithful to read a hymn to be sung without a light. In Santander, I attended a Basque church service at 9 o'clock in the evening, which took place in such a dark church that I could no longer even see the neighbor standing next to me. Even the priest in the pulpit, whom I could only hear but not see, couldn't tell whether the church was empty or full. In reality, it was the latter. The sermon, which I listened to despite my poor knowledge of the language

2ß The hair color of the Indo-European peoples of antiquity

the 'Bilder" speech, with

Z en language of the Basques, which, in contrast to the euphonious hard sp pnnatism, is still far more

provocative and

SST ÄJSfc^^^r ""\* "r? T '

that there was a Protestant among his listeners in e<sup>TM</sup>

... rnn A he was fulfilled, he could be trusted to

to urge them to put an end to the abomination. U\*llMrlich I thought of Ignaz von Loyola, who was a Spanish ° the

fiei^te child, but at the same time I said to myself that the . & \* I heard would have been impossible in Gascony in the 20th century The Gascon is a purer Ligurian than the Spanish Basque, who is a Berberized Ligurian. The Berbers, who invaded the Pyrenean Peninsula during the transition from the Late Stone Age to the Copper and Bronze Ages, partly destroyed and partly subjugated the Ligurians there as far as the Bidassoa and the Rhone,

' also several hundred Iberian, Berber and Hgurian places,

mountain! gods

both of the latter almost to gKicnen that the Berber names

mmmm

At the same time, however, the work came to an abrupt, un ^ r<sup>TM</sup>" e l^' 2000 lipes, and, as numerous finds again prove, was only resumed years later under the Roman emperors. With the kind, tireless support of the then German consul in Huelva, the now long deceased Mr. Sundheim, I was able to examine in detail all the finds, some of which were quite scattered and difficult to access for scientific research.

to scientific research. A flourishing culture was characterized by the Moorish

Basques

27

The Moorish Basques left the mark of the Libyan spirit on their subjects, from which their northern and eastern neighbors were fortunately spared.

I also encountered some customs from the pagan era, including one to my delightful astonishment, because its origin was different from what was commonly assumed. Twice more I encountered the couvade, the strange custom of men's childbeds. People had known from time immemorial that healthy women who had given birth normally were sometimes seized with fever immediately after delivery, and even died. Only an evil spirit, who did not grant the happy mother the longed-for child, could have brought about the misfortune. In order to deceive him, the father lies down in bed during subsequent

births and pretends to be ill. He is the stronger one; the evil spirit is usually powerless against him. If the woman nevertheless falls ill or dies, the deception was not carried out skillfully enough and had to be tried more effectively the next time. The explanation still given by Ed, Meyer, Gesell, d. Altert. 1,1 \ 25 and many others for the strange custom, which was once also found among the ancient Lycians, is, as I convinced myself by questioning several Basque peasants and a local priest who successfully fought against the bad habit, completely wrong.

But after this digression, I return to my topic. The western Alps were also only sparsely populated by Gauls; there is an almost complete absence of blondes (but also broad-headed people). But if the Gauls and Germanic tribesmen were lords of a thin layer of dark-haired serfs, we understand that their color was considered a sign of less noble birth. The free man was blond, and anyone who came from the union of such a man with a bondwoman or a free woman and displayed the proof of his unwelcome descent on his head would have made an effort,

The ancient peoples were destroyed, and only after several centuries, when Phoenicians and Greeks had come into the country, did they revive to some degree. They extracted tin and silver, which was available in abundance in their country, and exchanged the metals for trade goods, but they found it too laborious to exploit the copper mines of Hio Tinto again. If the mass of finds from early and late times and the yawning emptiness in the intervening one and a half thousand years did not speak an unmistakable language, we would rather believe in an error of tradition than in such inactivity.

## 28 The hair color of the Indo-European peoples of antiquity

the lack of blond by artificial means. Until a short time ago, a man with a bourgeois mother tried to carefully conceal this "stain". I have met such gentlemen. It would never have occurred to an Egyptian, Assyrian or Baby Ionian to dye his hair blond in order to give himself a distinguished appearance; for them, black hair belonged to the king and the noble-born just as much as to the peasant and the servant. They had probably encountered blond people in Media, Armenia, )a even in some parts of Syria and felt the force of their superior weapons, but it did not occur to them to imitate the hair color of the defeated - empty. We shall hardly go far wrong if we connect the custom which we meet with among the Celts, Teutons, and, as we shall see later, also among the Greeks and Romans, of dyeing half-blond hair pure blond, with the fact that among them blond hair belonged to the free lord, dark hair to the bondman, thus forming for each a mark of descent. The Galatians, writes Poseidonios in

Diod. V 28, 1, the Galatians are not only blond by nature, but seek to achieve this

but seek to enhance this peculiar color by artificial means, by wetting it with lime water. They also used a soap consisting of tallow and wood ash for this purpose, Plm. XXVIII, 191; Seren. Sammon. 4, 52 (Po. 1. m. III, 110 Baehr.); cf. Propert. III, 11,4 ni 18 26), which assumes the custom to have existed primarily in Belgium. But according to Plin. op. cit. with which Ovid, ars amat. III, 16, 5; Martial VIII, 33 20- XIV, 26; 27; Tacit. hist. IV, 61; Amm. Marc. XXVII, 2,2, this custom also became established in Germania, and significantly more among the men there than the women. Of course! For men, noble descent is more important than for women, who tend to achieve more with beauty and grace than with the most beautiful letters of nobility. If the blond hair color had been considered the more preferable only for aesthetic reasons, if the desire to gain increased physical splendor had been the driving force, then the Germanic women, who were no less concerned with external adornment than others (Tacit.

Germ. 17), would have paid no less attention to the color of their hair than the men.

The inhabitants of the Balkan peninsula and southern Russia, the Illyrians, Dalmatians, Thracians and Scythians, were also in ancient times

Gauls and Germanic tribes

29

In some cases, they have lost their original color to an even greater extent than the Germanic tribes and Celts, but mostly as a result of foreign immigration. In Bosnia and Serbia, however, this consisted exclusively of Slavs, whose reddish hair color Prokop bell. Got. III, 14, 27 discusses in detail. In a prophecy given to Leo Sapiens (886–911) Anthol. Gr. append. VI, 225, 7 p. 518 Cougny they are called a blond people. The Bulgarians, however, are of Hun origin. The Romanians are descended from Roman colonists, but we do not know to which nations they belonged. Despite the Latin language they adopted, they are unlikely to have come even half from Italy. The colonists will have mostly immigrated from the Roman provinces of the Balkan Peninsula, and in many cases also consisted of retired soldiers whose homeland we do not know.

We are informed about the Illyrians and Dalmatians by Galen, de temp. II, 5 p. 618 Kühn (p. 68 Helmr.), according to whom they all had reddish hair. In addition, there are the authors mentioned on p. 21, who extend the blond hair color to all peoples north of Hellas. The hair color is attested to us by eight Illyrian men, by the emperors Claudius Apollonius, Probus, Valentinian I, Constantine the Great, Constantius II and Iulian as well as by Constantius Chlorus and Constantius Gallus, – the evidence will be given later. With the exception of Iulian, who had black hair, all are blond or reddish blond.

Xenophanes Fr. 14–16 p.49 Diels 2 ; Anacreon Fr.49 p.269B. 4 ; Galen, de temp. II, 6 p. 289 Förster; de sanit. tuend. I, 5; Adamant. phys. II, 37 p.39 Förster; Polemon 32 p.238; Clem. Alex. paed. III, 3, 24 p. 250; Claudian c. min. 25, 127 p. 230 K. ; Leon Diakon. IX, 6 p. 874 Migne, etc., that nature had given them the same adornment as their western neighbors. Of individual tribes we are told of the

Alans, Amm. Marc. XXIV, 3 subflavi; XXXI, 2, 21 medio- criter fiavi. As I learn from Penka, Herkunft der Germ. p. 110 and Heimat d. Germ. p. 17 A. 2, the Ossetians, their descendants, who speak an Iranian language, are still partly blond today. On the residences of the Alans in the northern Caucasus, see Tom a–

30 The hair color of the Indo-European peoples of antiquity

i ?R2 and Herrmann, RE zweite Reihe 1,2137, while Kiessling VIII, 2588 f. arbitrarily places them in the Kirghiz steppe

^Albani. According to .eigen--In bei

Da "s'is h t fcelbe n exaggeration of her light hair color, which we encounter in Das , \* ■ DTin vn 23 ■ 28, which resembles a Nordmdi–

ascribes white hair in her youth. We will

SP Anten ? Got.III, 14, 27 they are neither very fair or blond, nor are they also completely black, but all sin

rÖ Ari^Äll m . hymn. In Del. 291 blond.

toS Änthol. Pal. VII, 10, 2 p. 10 Stadtm. their hair is called blond; 10,4 it is called "Thracian hair". So much had its

color had become a proverb. + tv o T7 fiavi

Coralli, neighbors of the Bessi, Ovid. ep. ex Ponto IV, 2, 37 fiavi. Geloni, Claudian 20, 103 p.72 Koch fiavi.

Geten Claudian 35, 65 p.274 K\* fiavi-

Kikonen. Smerdies, the lover of Anacreon, has ciconic hair, Antip. in Anthol. Pal. VII, 27,6 p. 23 Stadtm. Anacreon fr.49 calls it "Thracian hair", likewise Simomdes, Anth. Pa -VII, 2o, 6 p.31 Stadtm., where with Ben ndo r f iA6xov instead of to write .

Sarmatians, Claudian 14, 15 p. 90 K. fiavi. Galen, de temp. , 5 618 p. 68 Helmr. gives them

'satarchae in the Krün, Valer. Flaec Argon. VI, 44 fav. On the vases found in the Crimea, the Scythians have long, blond hair, cf. Reinach, Mithradates Eupator p. 211 Of eight Thracians of antiquity whose hair color is described to us by chance, seven are blond; only one has black hair. We know the hair color attributed to two heroes and one Getae, who appears in a comedy; all three have blond hair.

About the appearance of the

Indo-Europeans of Asia

we have little evidence. Armenians, Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, Bithynians and Phrygians had settled in Asia Minor.

Indo-Europeans of Asia

31

Of these, the Armenians are descendants of the Phrygians^). As they were few in number and therefore formed only a thin ruling class in the land taken from the Alarodians, they were absorbed particularly early and particularly strongly into the subjugated people. It is hard to imagine anything more different than the appearance of a modern Armenian and the type of man we think of as the Froer Hector. The former usually resembles a Jew of the purest race, but Hector appears in Homer, despite the dark hair he gives him, as a heroic, tall, chivalrous man who differs in nothing from the Hellenic warriors\* Both, however, are descendants of Phrygians and Thracians. The Trojans and Phrygians come from



Thrace\*>), as do the Paphlagonians and Bithynians^)\* The Mariandynians, however, are Paphlagonians d ). The Mysians bear the same name as the Moesians ^), the Maionians of Lydia the same as the Paionians of Thrace\* The latter, however, formed a true officina gentium\* at that time.

There is no description of the appearance of any of these tribes; however, at least in the case of the Phrygians, the most widespread tribe, we have so much evidence about individual persons, heroes and gods that we nevertheless obtain complete clarity: the Phrygian people, like their fellow tribesmen in their former homeland, the Thracians, were also blond by birth. But all these peoples, both European and Asian, were lost in the mass of foreign-born dark ones who, because they formed the majority, absorbed their new masters in an inexorably progressive process, some earlier, others later\* After all, we know of six Phrygian men, one woman and two boys who were all still blond\* Of the 35 heroes we know about, as they were thought in later times, 23 are blond, 12 dark. Of five Phrygian deities about whom we happen to have news, 4 are light-haired, one dark\*

p.!? i^ r0d ° 1 t ^ I >Z 3; Eudoxos fr -9 P- 23 Gisinger, repeated by Eustath, Dion\* beTstirnle Vg + ^ d ' Altert - 2 ' 615 ' dem I W" Bartholomä

Language \* 5 ^ retsc \* imei 5 Introduction to the history of the Greek.

bülls h 70f ydeS 27 P \* 68 JaC ' ; VgL HiHer v - bring, De Graecorum fa-

ü ) Strabon p\* 345 and 542.

ri Cf. also the remarks of Strab. p. 572.

## 32 The hair color of the Indo-European peoples of antiquity

In southern Asia Minor and in Syria no Indo-European people were able to gain a firm foothold, for the few planted cities that the Hellenes were able to found in the former remained. ennobled Only in the extreme south of Syria near the Egyptian border do we encounter a people that was probably brought there from Thrace, the Philistines. When the Israelites invaded Canaan, they were not yet there\*). The so-called Septuagint usually translated their Hebrew name Peleshet as allophy o=, i.e. people of a foreign tribe who were immigrant non-Semites. According to the prophet Nehemiah 13:24, they spoke a language not understood by the Jews. They are always described in the Old Testament as extremely warlike, brave men. According to Deuteronomy 2:23 and the prophet Amos 9:7, they came from Caphtor (Crete), but this was probably only a stopover on their journey. The pre-Helvetian Cretans had probably had a high culture, but they were not great. They did not produce an Achilles or a Goliath. G. Baur has shown in Riehms Handwörterbuch des biblischen Altertums II", 1218, that the Philistines first settled in the extreme southwest of Canaan and only from there conquered the coast as far as Achsib (Ekdippa). They probably belonged to one of the sea peoples who, coming from the north of the Aegean Sea, partly invaded and partly attempted to invade Egypt in the 13th and 12th centuries. As their plan did not succeed, they settled in the fertile plain not far from the delta and, as they were far superior to the Semites in terms of military prowess, they took over the long coast as far as the vicinity of Tyre, despite being outnumbered. The whole of Israel became their territory for a time. Where was the former home of the Philistines? Perhaps the question can be answered. Koiran-os was the Greek word for "lord". In Thracian and Phrygian, which belonged to the so-called Satem languages, the word

must have been "soeran or seran". As "tyrannos" it entered Greek from Asia Minor in the meaning of "ruler", where the words koiranos and tyrannos then existed side by side. In Philistaeon, however, seren (n?) was known to mean "prince".

a) Exod. 13, 17 asserts the opposite, but this is a chronological error.

### Indo-Europeans of Asia 33

I therefore assume that the Philistines were of Thracian or Phrygian origin and that they reached Canaan in the same migration that led several European and Asian tribes as far as Egypt in the 13th century.

We learn almost as little about the hair color of the Philistines as we do about that of the Iranian peoples. Only Ammianus Marcellinus, who had many opportunities to observe them in the second half of the 4th century, gives us a fairly detailed description of the Persians in XXIII, 6, 75 3 ). "Almost all are gaunt," he writes, "blackish or yellowish; they have a goat-like, bullish stoop, eyebrows that unite in a semicircle, not unattractive beards and long, shaggy hair".

The paradoxographer Isigonos of Nikaia, who, as Ca pelle probably made out, was a member of Tiberius' army, reports in Plin. VII, 12 ü ) the strange tale, in Albania gigni quos- dam a pueritia statim canos. The same is told by Ctesias Ind. 31 and fragm. 86 of the Indians, and by Poseidonios in Diodorus V, 32, 2 of the Celts, except that the latter two add that those born with white hair turn black in old age. All three exaggerate the phenomenon that sometimes occurs among blond peoples, that children are born not only light blond but white blond, but darken in old age just like the others.

The lack of further evidence about the Iranians, as with the Phrygians, is, if not compensated for, made more bearable by the fact that we at least have information about several individuals who are discussed in the second part of this publication. From them we may assume that until the end of the Roman imperial period the blondes predominated at least among the Persian nobility.

Only for the sake of completeness do I mention the note of Procopius bell.Pers. 1,3,4 about the Hephtbalites belonging to the Huns, "they alone among the Huns have white bodies". Whoever has heard the Hephta

^ . G ^ aciles p J ene sunt omnes, subnigri vel livido colore pal lentes, caprinis oculis orvi et sup ereil ns in semiorbium speciem curvatis iunctisque, non indecoribus barbibus capillisque promissis hirsuti.

3,34 Ä XIX Ch 23 e 7 iUS A "" " X ' 4 ' 6; S ° in !5, 5; Isidore etymo1 ' IX ' 2 > 65 i XIV ,

® > c ff 1 i n , hair color

3

34 The hair color of the Indo-European peoples of antiquity

Uten were to which ethnographic group of peoples they belonged 1 o ' j best has Tos. Mar qua rt,

hransahr p.58f. Ibir s<sup>6</sup> dealt with. Kießling posited RE VIII, 2611 the supposition \* " B Sle with 1=n Alans, who are mentioned above p.29, were This hypothesis fails because of the residences of the Alans, which are to be sought in the Caucasus. Since the Hephthalites come from Central Asia, they are probably native to the Iranian language group. But we cannot go beyond a guess.

The Iranian tribe also included the immigrants who probably arrived in India as early as the third millennium m

India

in the western half of the Penshab. This has long been proven by linguistics. When the Persei arrived at the end of the 6th century and the Greeks in the 4th century, the fusion of the invaders with the indigenous Dtawi had already begun to such an extent that the scholars who investigated found only slight traces of light-skinned and light-haired people.

Ctesias Ind. 9 knows that the Indians are black by birth"). Yet, as he assures us, there are men and women, albeit in small numbers, who are completely white. He himself has seen seven of them, two women and five men. In the mountains of India m where the large pipes grow, he assures Ind. 31 further, there is a tribe of 30,000 souls whose members are born with white hair"), which only begins to grow at the age of 30.

aj The historians of Alexander also observed the same thing. They noted, as Herodotus UI, m had done before them, that the darker the Indians became, the " \* Sud cd he East dwelt, cf Arnan anab V 4 4 Jnd 6, 9, cf. Strab. p. 690, 696. Of the later are worth mentioning Dm. 1 :, i t ?17

Li 35, 17; Eustatli. Dion. Per. 1107 p. 398 M ; P1.Ä V7Apollo". HZ 17, VT i ■ Artthnf lat P I 440J0 p, 332 Riese; Claudmn I, 170 , XVII> 6Z , aai, i<sup>6</sup> lüvcf, IV, >25iMur,iu. V.1, 30 4;.X 16 j M" ; astron IV, 723; Ovid ars amat. 1, 53; trist. V, 3, 24; metam IV, 21, TibuU II, 3 55 Ps Ti bull IV, 2,19 etc. In the Rigveda it is assumed that the girls' hair is black {Brunnhöfer, Urgeschichte der Arier II, 138).

b) This people is meant by the poet s. v. 1 ithonokomon, excerpted by Hesych. E gives it this strange name because it is black all over, but has ■ white hair, thus resembling Tithonos, the husband of Eos, who as an Indian ethiope (cf. Roscher's Lexicon of Greek and Rom. Mythol. V, \*023, but where Indian and Libyan ethiopes are not distinguished) was black, and an old man was white-haired.

r

India

35

to become black and to acquire this color completely at the age of 60. The people are very warlike, equipped with gigantic joints, but must provide the (Persian-dependent) king of the Indians with 5000 warriors, armed with bows or spears, Fragm.84 at Plin. VII, 28 he adds that this tribe is in the territory of the Pandae (Padaei).

In the land where the great pipes grow (in that of the Padaei), there was, as Lucan III, 238 reports, a tribe that dyed their hair (golden yellow) with saffron. The *Adnotationes super Lueanum*, for example, know its name, which was *Agroetes*\*). From the same source as Lucan, Solin 52, 18 brings the message: "All Indians wear long hair; not without (artificial) coloring are they dark or saffron yellow in color." As brief as this information is, it is sufficient to recognize that the light-haired, warlike *Agroetes* living on the slopes of the Himalayas must have been of Iranian descent.

Arrian Ind, 16 and Strab. p. 699 also know of hair dyeing among the Indians. They name the land of the Cathaians as the home of the custom, who made a name for themselves through their need for beauty and were neighbors of the Padaeans. But they did not choose saffron to adorn themselves, nor did they limit themselves to red, but chose a wide variety of colors, white, dark, light red, dark red or even green. The Cathaians were at home in the easternmost parts of the Punjab, whose inhabitants were often called Ethiopians because of their particularly black color. They were therefore not Aryans, but belonged to the Drawidas. We learn nothing of further attempts by the Indians to reduce the blackness of their hair.

The report by the leader of an envoy from Ceylon, who traveled to the time of the emperor

, ^ ^ Cr ^ ame Aℒ roe tcs is conspicuously mentioned nowhere else than in the *Adnotationes to Lucan* and the Ebstorf map as well as some authors of the earliest Middle Ages mentioned by K. Miller, *Mappac mundi* VS. 48 mentions. Where they got their information from remains a mystery.

b ) Aristotle *Fragm.* 243 p. 194, 8 Rose; Herodotus III, 94; VII, 70, who also speaks of her plain hair; Aeschylus, *Hiket.* 286; Sophocles *fragm.* 26; Euseb. *ciiron.* II, 22 Beautiful; Philostr, v. Apollon. III, 20; Vergil *georg.* II, 120 and oazu Servius II, 116; Ovid *metam.* I, 778; Apuleius *metam.* " XI, 5 p. 269, 2ö He m; Laurent, *Lyd. de ostentis* 55 p. 111 Wachsm.; Isidor, *etymol.* IX, 2, 128; Malalas V p. 127 Dind.; Sehol Dion. Per. ISO and others.

36 The hair color of the Indo-European Völker de. Antiquity

Claudius after \*-""^ESSEℒ efan- lichen Indiens gema montes Hemodos dwell

himself (Phn. VI, horai num magnltu .

es, that is, north of the ' , so no truci, nullo commercio

dinem,rutilisconiis,caemle.socuUs on sonotr "

U " 8 " ae Ät SÄ 3ÄÜ only the uppermost one large flu0. de " hne 8 Zwelfe l l m northern Kashmir

' ni u ""where "och eu an Iranian language is spoken and

: ""d Ha Ä W hairy Chinesejj" ^

Ä "ÄÜ the report au, "they dye

^Defceylol'cLrBenStatter, who spoke and understood Latin with difficulty, has "W"-- " a Ts

in Rome, ^P-Ernrt that \*

should have given this name to the Kaiif people with whom his Indian friends were in contact. In

Libya

a number of peoples deserve mention who lived in the midst of brau-

assäspÄ

fugen and hair so completely resembled German peasants aß " ip 8 not ht by their sunburnt complexion and the wo coat they wore, as Kabyles I was tempted to welcome them as sly compatriots. a f "ff" in the surroundings of Tangier (but less so in the city itself) and^ then again^ the slopes of the Atlas I met "- ans the majority of the population were of course the S - ■

My Cabbish guide and constant companion, who had previously been employed for a long time in the Sultan's stables and had thus been able to get to know all parts of the country.

the country in all its parts assured me that in some parts of Morocco there were whole villages that almost looked like

Libya 37

were inhabited by blond or brown-haired Kabyles. But he also emphasized that they were only a minority. He estimated them to be just under a fifth of the population, and my experiences with them were consistent with this. It was noticeable that from his words and even more from his facial expressions a certain irritation seemed to emerge against the blondes, not as strong as against the French, Arabs and Jews, but it was still there. Tissot, *Geographie de la prov. Romaine d'Afrique* 1,403 f., estimated their number at a third of the population. With all the restraint I owe to the divergent judgment of a researcher like Tissot, I cannot conceal the fact that I consider his estimate to be too high. My guide, to whom I communicated it, also rejected it with a malicious smile as not debatable. He said disdainfully: what does a Frenchman like that know about our country!

But which of us may be right, that doesn't matter too much. Much more important is the question of where these Nordic invaders come from and when did they immigrate? Fortunately, the desire for clarity here can be fulfilled. At first one might think of the Vandals, who ruled here for a time. But although they did live here, they did not live here. They only settled in Tunis\*}, and after their defeat by Beiisar they were effectively destroyed 1 \*), so no descendants are to be expected in Morocco. The blondes there must have immigrated from somewhere in the period before reliable news began. Since there were only such people in neighboring Spain and Portugal from around 600 BC, the Celts of France did not reach the Mediterranean before 400, and inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula can hardly be considered, we would have to think of Italians. But we lack any evidence for such an assumption, all the more so as the Italians had migrated to the Appennine peninsula by land and kept away from the sea until well into historical times. There is therefore nothing left to do but to think of the Celts of Portugal, who, as we may infer from Avien's *Ora marit ima*, at the beginning of the 6th century, had

been conquered by the

j 1 ) Ludw. Schmidt, Geschichte der deutschen Stämme I, 365 > Prokop b. Got. IV, 17, 22; anekd. 18, 7.

38 The hair color of the Indo-European peoples of antiquity

0 , Q11(! See there and to Galicia,

Brittany from the se ^ 4 century for a time even

yes (according to later f\* big ^ have won. From them

the largest hen penetrated the Moroccan coast

must Z Z ,<sup>TM</sup>nlℒr^M. Since we only have

Sℒ !" U: ' . ;e have news about Morocco and southern Spain,

trummerhad news^^ 2to us .). Only

so is no K descendants who have preserved the fair-haired manner of their ancestors

preserved the blond style of their ancestors testifies to the immigration of Celtic flocks. But our knowledge comes to an end when we receive a strange message,

Ä s.

"irgcs (in southern Algiers) live a people "who, unlike the \*ℒℒ ℒ\*ℒ

all white skin" ""riddle""^!r don't even know if he is true, T' toPüTsich not invoke. If the news is based on truth, Nordic barbarians must have landed in Algiers at an unknown time, traversed the whole country i - ZmZXXZ of this very land, without being tempted by its cooler fertile valleys, in order to finally settle in a climate that is murderous for any Northerner After the tropical sun had done them no harm for almost 2000 years until the Byzan - nian period, however, they then perished without a trace. I think this story is enough to cast doubt on its truth. In any case, we cannot use them scientifically. .

' Skylax peripl. HO (93 fabr.) also speaks of a people on the

of the Lesser Syria, who were 'altogether fair and very fair', and Kallimachos hymn. 2, 86 sings of the merry dance of the Cyreneans with 'the fair-haired Libyans' of the surrounding area. Of both

tS=s~SÄii=iI

Fr j 30 (0 f T hl di :Sf ℒ

that in Hellas all their raids were known yet were not worth suava f, urged.

Greece

39

We know nothing else about the groups mentioned here, but nothing prevents us from linking their origins to the Norse Sea Peoples who raided not only Egypt but also the northern coast of Libya in the 13th and 12th centuries. From Beiochs Griech. Gesch. I, 1 a, 74 note 2, I learn that in Cyrenaica the blond type has survived alongside the dark-haired Arab type to this day. The westernmost Libyan border people of Egypt, the Adyrmachidai\* 1), who lived west of the delta, probably came from such a northern people, but from a significantly earlier time (2400 BC). When Lucan pharsal. X, 129 of Cleopatra's servants that some of them wore fairer hair than Caesar saw on the Rhine, these girls may certainly have been purchased slaves, but the obvious thing to think of is that they were subjects of the queen, whose empire extended as far as the Great Syrtes. Even Cyrenaica was later granted to her by Antony. The servants will have come from such possessions, but a dark veil still remains over their origins, as over those of all the other tribes of Libya, and there is no prospect that it will ever be lifted.

We have seen above that the Celts and Teutons, the Illyrians, Thracians, Scythians and Indians, whose descendants today – some more, some less – for the most part have dark hair, were blond or reddish in ancient times. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the Greeks and Romans, or rather the Greeks and Italians, underwent a similar transformation. Of course, anyone who has traveled through their countries and got to know the dark population there, among whom blondes only appear in isolated places, can hardly imagine that Germanic heroes once lived there. And yet they did. Let's examine the ancient evidence and start with the

Greeks iand

and the Peloponnese.

Bacchylides 8,24 calls the participants in the Nemean Games, by which he means men from all over Hellas, blond (^av&oi), also

a > Honigmonn, RE XIII, 150.

40 The hair color of the Indo-European peoples of antiquity

n.ict-ftth II IV. 141 p. 455 assured,

i 9 R 2 S dert Lakonen white skin color and blond hair that "with the , t " pi n dar Nem. 9, 17 calls the signs of the Sir"; the scholia z. St.

BeW teh n en among the Danaans here Hellenes, which corresponds to the language usage S waersprftt. Also Kal.imachos Hymn.5, 4 speaks Pinaars. n Ent e n t you blond Pelasgennnen .Bei

p 6 Ar ri S f irEl 1 ektra 53 o "Electra replies to an old man's assumption that the blond curls found on her father's grave were her brother's: "the blond curls found here, which are so similar to mine, are hardly those of my lost brother, for you will find many with hair of the same color, even if they are not of the same blood. – M stranger or a local man will consecrate the hair to the grave hlbTn " The poet Theosnis, who comes from neighboring Megara, remarks in a mutilated, not lanz fren elegy Po. lyr. Gr. II, 191 B. 4, his fellow citizens used to wear red wreaths "around their blond hair" at feasts (in happier times). But Bergk is inclined to assign the song to Kratmos of Ephesus, to whose homeland it fits better. If he is right in his assumption, which I would like to believe, the author describes his Ionian compatriots. In Athens there were a lot of small marble heads on the Acropolis, which represented former goddesses of Athena. A large number of them showed clear traces of former painting, and of these by far the majority had blonde or golden hair. Similarly, on the numerous lekythes that can be seen in the city's museum – which, of course, date from a wide variety of periods – the majority of the hair was reddish or blond. Friedr. Adler happened to be there with me and, as he was interested in the question, repeated the count. However, he counted slightly more red and blondes than I did. Of the description that Herakleides Kntikos gave of Hellas in the middle of the 3rd century (cf. RE VIII, 486), we have only a large fragment, which erroneously bears the name of Dikai- arch and was published in the Geogr. gr. min. I by C. Müller I 19 p 103 he describes Boeotia and the Boeotians and praises them for having "blond hair". He quotes Sophocles Fragm. 705, who coined the proud phrase about them, "they are the

Greece

41

only mortals who give birth to gods", godlike beings, equal in form to the gods. Given this evidence, we are not surprised that blonde virgins were easy to find in Boeotian Leuktra. According to Plutarch Pelop. 21, a dream vision appeared to Pelopidas on the night before the battle there, urging him to sacrifice a blonde virgin as atonement for the long-ago murder of two (blonde) girls in the area. After much hesitation, Pelopidas contented himself with the sacrifice of a fiery red mare. The story assumes that blond virgins were easy to find in Leuktra. I need hardly speak of the famous lanagrafigures, most of which date from the 4th century BC. They are well known. With the exception of a few slaves and subordinates, they are all red-haired or reddish-brown. Dyeing them blond was too difficult for the craftsmen who made them and were dependent on simple, cheap material.

Theodoridas of Syracuse (Saec. III BC) describes Anth. Pal. VII, 528 p.369 Stadtm, how the Thessalian maidens of Larissa "shaved their blond hair" in mourning for the early death of a fellow citizen. Ciaudian 10, 19 also mentions the blond hair of Achilleus Thessalicos crines. Even the Byzantine novelist Niketas Eugenianos, in his poor history of Drosilla and Charicles III, 180 p. 18 Boiss. assumes that in Phthia the young people wore blond hair. Apollon. Rhod. II, 159 therefore calls the 50 Argonauts who set out from Thessaly for the golden fleece all blond. But he also gives this color to the female servants that Medea received from the Phaeacians on Corfu in IV, 1303.

The well-known saying about Timotheos, the poet of the "Persians", that he was a "Miesian red-head", sufficiently shows the characteristic of his countrymen, as does Kratinos of Ephesus, of whom I have just spoken.



It is often said of the Krathis River near Thurii that it had the power to dye the hair of those who bathed in it blond. Suffice it to refer to Eurip. Troad. 227; Theophrastus and Nymphodorus in Schob Theokr. 5, 14 p. 161 W.; Ps.Aristot. mir. ausc. 169; Timaos in Antig. hist. mir. 134; Isigonos, Sotion and Agathosthenes in Schob Lykophr. 1021; Strab. p. 263; Vibius Sequester p. 147 R. to refer. Ovid metam. XV, 313 extends the blond coloring property

#### 42 The hair color of the Indo-European peoples of antiquity

of Krathis to the neighboring Sybaris river. The legend continues that the Greek inhabitants of the area were blond. According to the scholia to Eurip. Troad. 228 p.355 Schw., the legend has of course been arbitrarily transferred from the Achaean river Krathis to the Italic river of the same name, and Wilamowitz assures in the introduction to the translation of this drama p. 270 that he had seen the Achaean river coloring the sea there red after heavy rain. But the fact that the tale was able to propagate itself for so long to so many authors speaks in favor of the conclusion I have drawn.

According to an epigram by Leonidas of Tarentum, Anthol. Palat. > 211 2 p. 335 Stadtm., the hetaera Kailikleia, when she renounced the courtship of love, dedicated a silver eros, mirror, comb, furthermore

™ p eüv AeeiälSoc xip); "W " hte " K if is ' Da , S ' e d " real" Kypris consecrated the art means of love, the

lesbian hair that she donated was hardly a wig but a lock of her own hair. The lesbians were therefore also considered to be reddish-blond.

Just as we find evidence from a number of Hellenic tribes and states that blond hair was predominant among them, the testimonies about the people as a whole that have come down to us have the same content. Let us begin with the splendid characterization of the European peoples left to us by Poseidomos, who was equally important as a philosopher, historian, geographer and ethnographer, through the mediation of the philosopher Poiemon of Laodicea, which was excerpted by the physician Adamantios and an unknown Arab. The relationship between the sources was clarified by Hornyänszky in a lecture published in 1929, "Von Hippokrates bis Tacitus", Pecs (Fünfkirchen), p. 15, and, as I have learned from the Philol. Wochenschr. 50 (1930) 1413, Gudeman also did this long before him. I pick out from Scripture what is of value for our purposes. The excerpt from Adamantios can be found in Förster's Scriptores physiognomici I, 382f., the Arabic text is in Latin translation I, 242f.: "It is difficult to give an exact characterization of the individual peoples, since there are many mixtures; e.g. there are Syrians in Italy, Libyans in Thrace").

a) Unknown immigrations of which we have no knowledge. It is not clear whether they were voluntary or deported. In the case of the Syrians

Greeks Jan d

and others in other countries, Northerners are usually tall, blond, fair-skinned"), have straight hair and blue eyes, – Southerners, on the other hand, have black, frizzy hair and black eyes. The greater or lesser

occurrence of these characteristics depends on the greater or lesser proximity to the south or the north. In the middle of the Oikumenē, they are halfway between the two extremes, and the distinguishing marks of the northerners and southerners can be found side by side. The inhabitants of the east and west differ from each other, depending on whether they belong more to the south or the north. For the inhabitants of westernmost Libya resemble the Ethiopians, while the Iberians on the western ocean resemble their northern neighbors, the Celts"). The Greeks and Ionians, if their species has remained pure despite the many foreigners who live among them, as in Argos, Corinth(?) c) and other places, are tall men, fairly broad, of upright stature, strong, with fairly fair skin and blond hair. – Of all peoples, the Hellenes have the most beautiful eyes."

Dion of Prusa emphasizes in 21, 16 that the beauty of the Hellenes is different from that of the barbarians. The former have blond hair like that of Achilles, Euphorbos and Patroklos, while the barbarians are black-haired, as Hector shows. The philosopher Xenophanes rt) and, following him, Aristotle c) point out that all men believe that the gods have the same hair.

One can think of prisoners who were settled as slaves in Italy. But there is no news of this. And even Libyan settlements in Thrace? Even the boldest supposition fails here; Hellenes from Cyrenaica are of course ruled out.

a) The traditional Xsuxol (blond, with white hair) is meaningless.

meaningless. The disturbing words xäq xopaq are missing both in the parallel report of Ps.– Polemon and in the Arabic text, where the Latin translation p. 23S calls the northerners albos, rubris capillis.

b) The author seems to have been unaware that the inhabitants of the Portuguese and Spanish ocean coasts were for the most part Celts, and that the similarity between the two was therefore not due to the influence of climate, but mostly to tribal similarity.

c) The two cities are only mentioned in the Arabic text; Roman merchants had established a settlement in Argos in the time of Poseidonius, JRE II, 743. The name of the other city has been misspelled and the editor has only presumably changed it to Corinth. The correction is not to be approved, however, since Corinth was destroyed while Poseidonius was alive.

a) Fragm, 14 p. 49 Diels,

44 The hair color of the Indo-European peoples of antiquity

Shape and appearance like them. Since the Hellenes, as we shall see later, depicted their gods as blond, they must have possessed this quality themselves.

themselves possessed this quality. , .

Manuel Philes from Ephesus, who is one of the latest Byzantine scribes, but where we can check, only ever copies the thoughts and images of older authors, praises a) means of strengthening the growth of "the blond curls of the virgins. At the time when Philes lived in Constantinople, the majority of young girls there would hardly have been blonde. According to his habit, he will have adopted the word

unchecked from an older original.

The extent to which some of the ancients regarded blond hair as the natural color is shown by a remark made by Shohasten to Hesiod 15 ), "that Helios dyed our hair blond out of care for us". A similar idea can be found in the Neoplatonist Piotinos c ), who was convinced that the beautiful body is a gift from the gods, who allow gifted people to share in the beauty that comes from them (which is naturally associated with blond hair). Firmicus Maternus, who was also a Neoplatonist, says 11 ): in a certain constellation Sol creates tall, handsome men whose heads shine through the blond tresses of their hair. A writing under the name of Manetho <=> also speaks of the influence of the stars: those born at the time of the conjunction of certain stars become wealthy men, tall, particularly handsome, they show pride in their eyes, have white skin color and go along with blond hair.

In Hellas, the male class was therefore blond. When the Hellenes invaded the land named after them at the turn of the 3rd and 2nd millennia, they encountered a dark-haired indigenous population which, judging by the numerous common place, river and mountain names, was closely related to the West Asia Minor, especially the Carian 1 ). These original inhabitants lived, as far as they were not from

a ) De anim. propriet. 1889 p. 45 Didot.

D) Schoi. Theog. 337 p. 322 Flat. c ) Enneads p. 45 Müller.

<i>i) Mathes. IV, 32 p. 254 Kr. and Sk.

c ) Apotelesmat. V, 287 p. 100 Köchly (in the Didot edition).

f) Cf. Kretschmer, Einleitung in die Geschichte, der griech. Sprache 401 f.; Beloch, Griech. Gesch. I", I, 75f.; 93; Ed. Meyer, Gesell, d. Alt. I 2 , 2, 683 f.

Greece

45

were bidden to live alongside and among the Hellenes and will certainly have outnumbered them. Gradually they adopted the language of their masters, and over time it became inevitable that sexual unions between the two would occasionally occur, even though legitimate marriages between full citizens and half-citizens or even slaves were forbidden for a long time. As a result of such mixtures, the hair of Hellenes gradually turned dark, even if the blondes naturally remained in the majority for a long time. After all, the comedian Kratinos, a contemporary of Aristophanes a ), and an age later Menander") criticized the bad habit of an Athenian woman to dye her hair blonde. According to Fragm. 107 B, 4 and especially according to the testimony of the Scholia to Theocritus 2, 88, which Bergk cites, it is very unlikely that Sappho already knew a means of doing this. She only knew a means of dyeing wool reddish. But at the beginning of the 5th century, in the Greek city of Kyme in Lower Italy, a local citizen succeeded in becoming head of the state after the aristocratic party had been destroyed. In order to mollify the adolescent youth and make them unfit for war and rebellion, he ordered them to lead a feminine lifestyle, to let their hair grow and dye it blond and to do all sorts of things that were unbecoming of future men c ). Otherwise we hear very little about artificial blondness among the

Greeks. King Lysimachus is said to have discovered a plant that served these purposes' 1 ). The word, which is found in Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca* 284, is *roë*

*χρῶμα ἔτι τῶν ῥοῶν*? \* *Accxgjvsc.* is incomprehensible, apart from the fact that we do not know what period it comes from. Does it mean that among the Lakons the decoration of the hair consisted of dyeing it blond? In any case, such a custom would have been unthinkable in older times. In Hesych and Suidas s. v. the words are found without the addition that they refer to the Lakons. Only in the imperial period do Pliny and Dioscorides mention a number of means of giving the hair any desired color. Plutarch®) also speaks of

a ) *Fragm.* 338 Kock.

b ) *Menander* *Fragm.* 610.

c ) *Dion. Halic, Antiqu.* VII, 9.

d ) *Plin.* XXV, 72, cf. *Hesych s. v.*; *Dioscorides, Arznei mittel lehre* IV, 3.

®) *Amat.* 25 p. 771 E.

#### 46 The hair color of the Indo-European peoples of antiquity

an ointment with which the women dyed their hair gold-like or red. Lucian 8 ) also knows such customs, and finally the scholia to Hesiod' 1 ). But even in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* – it is worth noting this – we find v. 43f. a list of all the possible ways in which women wanted to please men, but Athenian women in 411 did not yet use the art of dyeing their hair.

Nevertheless, the dark ones, who lived together with the blondes, made their presence felt early on in literature. It is striking that Sophocles' *Antigone* 1093 has the chorus of Theban citizens have black hair in their youth. However, it must be conceded that it would be more appropriate to the situation if the chorus spoke to their master of the black hair of their youth than of blond hair. On the other hand, one of Aristotle's remarks 0 ) cannot be disputed: Some people, when they become gray through illness, later regain their black color. In another passage^ ) he states: While in animals the color of the skin and that of the hair always correspond, white people (sometimes) have completely black hair. Similarly, a street scene that Theophrastus c ) presents to us seems to presuppose that a large part of the population of Athens in his day (319 BC) was black-haired. "If you meet a malicious person on the street," he writes, "he will say to you that you have grown a beard full of gray hair, even though you have more black hair for your age than anyone else." But a remark by the author of Aristotle's *Problems* 38.2 prevents us from over-generalizing these words: "All fishermen and sailors (who live by the sea) are red-haired." The author of the treatise on colors, which probably also belongs to Theophrastus, also states in 4, 21 that the hair of the inhabitants of the sea is red (allegedly due to the action of the sea). If this was true for Attica, then the inhabitants of the local

") *Erot.* 40. | J ) *Schol. Theog.* 947 p. 360 Flat.

*De gener. anim.* Vj 61 p. 784b.

d) A, a\* 0\* V, 5, 668 p.7\$5b.

e) Charaktere III, 3, Aisop fab. 31 would also have a place here, if one only knew from which time and region the story originates. Here it is told that an elderly man, whose hair was partly black and partly white, had two mistresses, the younger of whom had the white hair and the older the black.

Greece

47

coast was mostly made up of unmixed Hellenes, in contrast to the interior, where mostly dark-haired people lived. In the first-mentioned passage, the author concludes his remarks with the assurance: "All those who live towards the north also have red hair." This is an addendum added later, but it need not be a gloss, as it is filled with the spirit of Aristotle and Theophrastus. Under the influence of the doctrine prevalent in their day that the parallel leading from the Pillars to the mouths of the Nile formed the center of the Oikumene, both were of the opinion that Hellas belonged to the northern part of the earth 1 ). Hellas is therefore meant in the addendum. If it spoke of the whole of the north, it would be meaningless in this context. However, if the author speaks of his homeland, he is exaggerating, just as Theophrastus had exaggerated in the opposite direction in the passage just mentioned.

But it cannot be denied that from the beginning of the 5th century the number of non-blondes in Hellas increased alarmingly. According to the scholia to Plato's Laches p. 292 Hermann, "the ancients" obtained their slaves mostly from Caria and Thrace, whose inhabitants, as we saw p.29, were mostly reddish or blond. As a result of this and the terrible losses suffered by the master class in the incessant wars of the last decades, the blond Hellenes became so outnumbered that it became customary to call the slaves Xanthias or Pyrrhias. In the frogs of Aristophanes 730 pyrrhiai stands for slaves without further ado and in the speech of Aeschines, parapresb. 157 Xanthiai, cf. the scholia to the two a. a. 0., Hesych and Suidas s. v. as well as Lukian, Timon 22 and Eustath. II, 111,431 p. 432, 29. One of the main characters in the frogs is the slave Xanthias. The slave Pseudolus in Plautus' comedy of the same name, which probably takes place in Athens, is called rufus quidam in 1218.

Blond hair was no longer the distinguishing mark of the nobility. A long time later, Eustath remarks on the Iliad in the above-mentioned passage: "Blond hair was regarded by the ancients as an ornament, the blond as a friend of Ares." Similarly to II. I,

a ) Aristot. Meteor. II, 5,17; 6,10. fragm. 245,3.4. fragm. 248 p. 194,18; Theophr.

Ve !^ s come the Aristotelian problems 26 , 2 ; 10- 15; 39-41; 45; 47;

49, which, as I have already mentioned, also belong to Theophrastus, but in numerous places betray the spirit of the master.

48 The color of the hair of the Indo-European peoples of antiquity

197 p. 82, 40 But Dion of Prusa already complains in 21, I that true beauty, as it formerly existed, is no

longer or only rarely to be found. But when it was found, even if it was limited to the hair, it was still considered an asset. The words of Euripides Fragm\* 322, "Eros loves fair hair", were true at all times in antiquity. Philostratos, V. Apollon. VIII, 6 speaks – albeit mockingly – of the blond boys who inflame their lovers and the hetaerae. The poet Straton of Sardis explains Anthol. Palat. XII, 5 p.395 Dübner to love blond and black boys equally, but XII, 244 p.428 the former inflamed him the most. Lucian says in Dial. mort. 1, 3, to remind those who are too fond of life that there is no more blond hair in the underworld.

If we had a description of the masks worn by Greek actors in the theater in older, at least pre-Alexandrian times, we would gain a clearer insight into the gradual fusion of the two tribes that had come together in Hellas and had long forgotten their origins. But unfortunately the detailed account we have received from the grammarian Pollux, Onomast. IV, 133f., dates from Augustan times – it is taken from the learned King Iuba – when the Dark Ones had long since acquired the preponderance of influence which they had always possessed in numbers. It is therefore practically worthless for our purposes, although the blond masks were still used more frequently than the dark ones. All the material is conveniently compiled in a detailed article in RE XIV, 2070f.

The surest means of answering the question we are concerned with is the compilation of those persons of antiquity of whose hair color we have knowledge. In the second part of this paper I have attempted to give such a list. We can see from it that in the older, pre-Alexandrian period by far the majority of all people who played a role in life were blond and belonged to the male class, and it was only from the end of the fourth century onwards that the darker ones gained the upper hand. The gods and heroes are also almost universally thought of as blond. But before I move on to the list and before that to the Romans, I must discuss a side issue that has given rise to some doubts.

Greece

49

It often bothers us that the same people whose blond hair color is beyond doubt are described as blond by some, but appear red-haired by others. What does the word *xanthous* mean, which for the sake of simplicity I have always rendered as "blond" in the foregoing and will also translate as such in the following? Pindar<sup>1</sup>), Ps.Aristotle<sup>0</sup>) and the late Philes<sup>0</sup>) call the lion *xanthous*, Aeschylus<sup>11</sup>) and Euripides<sup>6</sup>) call the olive or olive oil *xanthous*. But the same Euripides<sup>1</sup>) and Oppian<sup>\* 1</sup>) give this color to blood, Simonides<sup>11</sup>), Alkaios<sup>1</sup>) and Philoxenos<sup>u</sup>) to honey, Bakchylides<sup>1</sup>) and the Scholia to Pindar<sup>m</sup>) to the flame of fire, Theophrastus<sup>11</sup>) to fire and the sun, Sophocles<sup>0</sup>) to the neige of wine, Kallistratos<sup>i></sup>) to gold, an Anonymus in the Anthol. Palat. IX, 384, 12 p. 362 Stadtm. of the cherry. The grammarian Philoxenos, who lived in the Augustan period, when *xanthōi* had already become rare, explains in the prooemium of his glosses (an edition is currently no longer available to me), like Kallistratos, that *xanthōs* is synonymous with "gold-like". Philoponos is of the same opinion in his commentary on Aristotle's Meteorology I, 5 p. 70 Hayduck. Piaton Timaios 30 p.68b f, thinks that a shiny mass mixed with red and white becomes *xanthous*, but *xanthous* mixed with dark becomes red.

We see that the color *xanthous* is most closely related to yellow in many people; it fluctuates, however, between light yellow and dark yellow; in those who use it to describe blood and wine, it even changes to red. Lexicographers therefore often use *xanthous* and red

a ) Fragn. 237 Sehr.

b ) Physiogn. 67 p. 74 Förster.

De animal, propriet. 1267 p. 30 Didot.

) P "ser 617 and Schol. 619.

e ) Iphigen. Taur. 633,

f) A.a. 0. 73.

E ) Halieut, HI, 24. h ) Fragn. 47 BL

!) In the Anthol. Palat, VII, 55, 4.

,) Pragm. 2, 36 p. 605 BL ') Fragn. 13, 4 p. 573 BL

m ) Schol. Pind. Pyth. I, 4la.

n ) Ps.Aristot. De color, I, 1.

°) Fragn. 255,

p ) Descr. 7, 2.

SiCElln, Uastfarbe ,

50 The hair color of the Indo-European peoples of antiquity

equated. Hesych s. v. ""W\* declares the word mentioned to be synonymous with red, beautiful (!) and yellow. Also s. v. iwpijww and TTupcojcopoo red is called the same as xanthos.

Suidas agrees in all articles s. v. 5 "v^v, ^o,,

Zl\*Zc, Ttupp^xr, and "u P( \*. The same explanation as the two 'is given in the scholia to Aischyl. Pers. 319 p. 106 Dahn, to Euripid. Phoin. 32 and to Euripid. Troad. 228, according to Galen. De temperam. I, p. 397, 26, the red color is more similar to the white than to the blond.

Among the Romans, too, we encounter the strange equation

of flavus (blond) and red, Lucan X, 129 and 131; Mamlms , 715 and 716; Scho! Iuvenal. 13, 164; Ps.Acro, Horat Cartm IV 4 4. But in Vergil Aen. IV, 159 the lion is fulvus, VII, 279 the gold is fulvum, Ovid metam. VIII, 198 the wax is called flava. The Tiber, yellow in its lower course, is regularly called flavus by Virgil, Ovid Horace läihus Italicus and others. Gellius Noct. Att. II, 26 at length on the

question; in contrast to the Greeks, he comes to the conclusion in 26, 12 that the color designated as "flavus appears to be composed of green, red and white.

According to the Greek authors, blonde and red hair in common parlance often seem to have been considered synonymous. However, since red hair rarely occurs in the world, and the ancient pictures and statues only rarely show this color, but rather blond or golden blond when dark hair is out of the question, we can assume that in many cases, when red hair is mentioned in the literature, it is blond. According to our sense of language, this is a harsh imposition; we are reluctant to follow it, but the ambiguity of the ancient testimonies leaves us no choice.

Let us now turn to the

Romans.

When the Italians migrated into the Appennine Peninsula from the Hungarian Plain, where they had last settled, they did not find it uninhabited – just as the Hellenes had found the Balkan Peninsula – but inhabited by a people belonging to the Mediterranean race, slender, long-headed, black-haired, with a brownish complexion, comparable in height and resistance to the

Romans

51

inferior to them. It was therefore not too difficult for them to make themselves masters of the land. That it was the Ligurians who had possessed it until now has long been remembered"), but for us this is of course no proof. As is so often the case, it could be deceptive. Proof, however, is provided by numerous place names common to Liguria and the parts of the Appennine peninsula occupied by the Italians. Just as in the north and north-east of Germany a large number of place names are not German, but Wendish and Polish, reminding us that these lands were occupied by Slavs when we repopulated them in the Middle Ages – and just as the names in Old Hellas are mostly not Greek, but Carian, and thus provide proof that Carians and tribes related to them lived there before the Hellenes, so the names in the Appennine peninsula show that it must have been inhabited by Ligurians before the Italians arrived. In historical times, these were confined to the northwest of Italy and the south of France; the latter, however, has been partly occupied by Celts since the beginning of the 4th century. In prehistoric times the Ligurians, as the common names show, had spread over the whole of Italy, France and Spain. There are several hundred of them, which I have compiled and given to one of my students for editing. For today, I will content myself with providing evidence for Italy and ask you to note the following list, although it is not intended to be exhaustive.

Ligurian

Italic

Acerrae

Acerrae



Alba Docilia

Alba longa

Alpes

Alba Fucens Albanus mons Albanum

Albion ager ö )

Albiones

Alia regio

Alia fluv.

Anagnis

Anagnia

Anagniae

J P- 424 Lirts.; Dionys. Hal. antiqu. I, 10; 13; 22; 40. de estus P-4 Linds. The etymology that the name comes from a luco Albionarum, in " er ager befinde, niag be correct, but the continuation, quoloco bös alba sacnficabatur, is terrible.

The hair color of the Indo-European

Ligurian Antium

Bergalei Cimenice Cemenelum Berigiema mons Sicimina mons Poeninae Alpes Cales

Crustumium Druentia fluv. Fertor fluv. Larinates Libycus campus a ) Medma Medulli

Metaurus fluv. Magelli &) \* \* \* \* \* 13 )

Pedo

Pitinum

Pollentia

Ricina

Savo

Solonates

Suanetes

Tifernum

Trebia

Peoples of antiquity

Italic

Antium

Antinum

Bergae

Ciminus mons

Appenninus mons Cales

Crustumium

Truentus fluv.

Fertur fluv.

Larinum

Libici

Medma

Medullia

Metaurus fluv.

Mugilla

Pedum

Septempeda 0 )

Pitinum

Pollentina

Ricina

Savo

Solonium

Suana

Sanates d )

Tifernum

Trebium

Trebula

&) Festus p. 108 Linds. The explanation of Verrius Flaccus that the name comes from the fact that

;omme that fruit ex Libya was sold here in the past is also wrong here,

According to Roman usage, the fruit came ex Africa, not ex Libya.

b) pjin. nI, 47, where cod. A writes Macielli, the cod. R Magelli, which De t-

efsen is inclined to prefer in his latest edition (1904). May hoff writes

Aaielli,

c ) Pedo is Ligurian = hill, mountain, Septempeda is = Transylvania.

d ) VgL Festus p.426\* 474 Linds.

Romans

53

Ligurian

Veleia

Vercellae

Vercellium Vergellus fl

Italic

Velia

But also the names Anxates, Arinates, Aufenginates, Dolates, Manates, Pacinates, Saipinates, Soiinates, Suillates, Sarranates\* Suriates, Tadiates, Vesinicates, Vindinates or Pollusca, which all show genuine Ligurian endings, show their un-Italic character at first glance. This list could undoubtedly be extended considerably.

Ligurians were therefore the inhabitants of the Appennine peninsula at the time when the Italians immigrated. Their remnants, having long since adopted the language of the local inhabitants, can be found in the western Alps and in Corsica, quite unmixed. From these we can draw a not too deceptive conclusion about their tribal brothers, who 3000 years ago had to serve the new masters as slaves. Moreover, Poseidonius has sketched a detailed description of them with his usual mastery, which Diodorus IV, 20; V, 39; Strab. p. 165; 218; Mir. ausc. 90f. have in the main preserved for us. The immigrating Italians were blond. The large number of families whose members were surnamed Flavii and Flaviani, Rubrii, Rufi, Rufini and Rutili is astonishing in itself. Pauly-Wissowa's Realenzyklopädie lists no less than 250 people - all of them people who had made a name for themselves in some way - who were called Flavii in contrast to their dark-haired fellow citizens, as well as 7 Flavi and 20 Flaviani, 10 Fulvi, 121 Fulvii, 27 Rubrii, 26 Rufi, 24 Rufii, 36 Rufini, 45 Rutilii, 13 Ahenobarbi. Especially in the families of the Iulii, Licinii, Lucretii, Sergii, Virginii, the name Flavius was almost hereditary. Rufi was the name of members of 17 families, the Antonii, Caecilii, Coelii, Cornelii, Geminii, Iunii, Licinii (who were sometimes also called Fiauii), Minucii, Octavii, Pinarii, Pompeii, Rutilii, Sempronii, Trebonii, Valgii and Vibii. Rufini was an epithet of members of the gens Antonia, Cornelia, Iunia, Licinia, Trebonia, Vibia. This list could probably also be extended.

Silius Ital., II, 319 praises the young Roman soldiers who were already fighting battles before their cheeks were dyed with blond fluff.

#### 54 The hair color of the Indo-European peoples of antiquity

The Sibyllian oracles XIV, 346 also speak of the "blond heads" of the Roman troops. How highly this color was valued in Rome is shown by a legend supposedly widespread there, preserved by Suetonius Nero 1. He reports that one branch of the gens Domitia was called Calvin! (bald heads), another is the Ahenobarbi. Their ancestor was met by the Dioscuri immediately after the Battle of Lake Regillus (496) and asked him to announce the victory to the senate and the people, of which they could not yet have any news, atque in fidem maiestatis adeo permulsisse malas, ut e nigro rutilum aeri que ad similem caput redderent. Quod insigne mansit et in posteris eius, ac magna pars rutila barba fuerunt. Plutarch tells the same story in Aemil. Paulus 25, except that he transfers the encounter to the forum. It assumes that the black hair color in Rome belonged to the lower classes, the blond to the nobility. Suetonius adds that the Domitian family used to belong to the plebeians, but were later admitted to the patrician class. If it is true what F. Münzer, RE V 1914 assumes, that the story of the Dioscuri, who turned the Domitii into red beards, was only invented after Caesar's death and that the gens Domitia was only admitted to the patrician class under Augustus, then the conclusion I have drawn is not invalid. But Münzer has not attempted to provide any evidence for the late invention. As late as the time of

Vespasian, Valerius Flaccus VI, 62, declared that *candidus crinis* constituted a *natale decus*.

But because marriages between patricians and plebeians had been legally permitted since 445, blondes and non-blondes were already beginning to mix. Children from such marriages began to grow dark hair. However, since this characteristic had always been regarded as the unmistakable sign of inferior birth, we find Roman women who were denied the adornment of aristocratic hair trying to remedy the defect by artificial means as early as the time of ancient Cato\*). Once this mischief had set in, it could no longer be avoided. To appear noble, one had to be blond, and this law was considered so self-evident that poets like Ovid and Horace, who were dark-haired themselves, almost invariably attributed blond hair to the heroes and heroines they portrayed, even Barba-

Orig\* fr, 114 Pet,

Roman

55

women like Dido, Kirke and Andromeda because they were of royal descent. The desire to be blond had particularly increased when the desolation of Italy, which began in the middle of the 2nd century (immediately after Cato) 5), and the simultaneous enormous increase in the importation of slaves of various nationalities, caused the disproportion in the number of light- and dark-colored people to grow enormously. Slaves often became freedmen, some of whom became proletarians, but some of whom also became wealthy upstarts who tried to conceal their origins by all means. They soon learned to use German and Belgian soap for dyeing, or even to put on hair that had been cut from blonde Germanic women as a wig b). The spread of the custom shows that even in the aristocratic circles of the Augustan period, dark hair formed the majority. Iuvenal VI, 120 reports that Messalina, the wife of Emperor Claudius, who was notorious for her immorality, covered her black hair with a blond wig when she went out into the street at night to commit fornication. She was black-haired, although she was the great-granddaughter of the blond triumvirate Marcus Antonius e). Aelian, who according to the testimony of Philostratos vit. soph. II, 31, 3 p. 123 Kays, never left Italy and thus could only gain experience there, emphasizes Var. hist. XIII, 1, emphasizes that the blonde color of the hunting Atalante was not achieved by dyeing, but was created by nature. In the 2nd century AD, natural blond color was thus already rare, Horace De arte poet. 37 and similarly or I, 32, 11 mentions a man with black eyes and black hair as the ideal of beauty 1'). He himself, of course, was also black-haired.

That Iuvenal VI, 367 speaks of eunuchs who were only castrated as adults when their genitals already had black hair,

a) It is not the place here to explain the origin and extent of this desolation. I may take Seeck's seminal work, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, for granted.

b) Cf. Festuss, v. *rutilium* p. 320 Linds.; Valer. Maxim. II, 1,5; Properz lH, 11,4; Ovid, *ars amat.* III, 163; *amor.* I, 14, 45; Martial VIII, 33, 20; XIV, 26f. A number of recipes for giving the hair any desired color are given by both PHnius and Dioskuddes; such recipes are also found in Galen.

c) Pauly-Teuffel, *Realenzyklop.* VI, 2, 2358.

d) The often discussed and just as often misunderstood words of Horace satyr. I,

4\*85: "Hic nigeresl, hunctu, Romane, ca veto" have nothing to do with the color of the accused.

It is to be translated: "This one is black of heart, beware of him,"

56 The hair color of the Indo-European peoples of antiquity

does not want to say much. He reports individual cases. The EpU grammarian Lucilius, who lived in Rome at the time of Nero and is known as an often imitated model of Martial, mocks Anthol. Palat XI, 68, 2 the hetaera Nikylla, that she dyed her hair, which she bought pitch-black at the market, (blond) afterwards. Both colors seem to have been in use among hetaerae in the 1st century.

Tertullian, *De cultu feminarum* II, 6 complains about the women of his time: "By dyeing their hair with saffron, they show that they are ashamed not to have been born in Germania or Gaul. With their hair they change their fatherland." Around 200 AD, the Carthaginian Tertullian considered blond hair to be peculiar only to the north. In Italy, it was apparently already rare. In a riddle poem written by an otherwise unknown Symphosius, who is said to have written around 400, *Poet. lat. min.* IV, 376 58 Baehr. assumes that people's hair is black. Servius, who lived at the same time, judges *Aen.* IV, 698: *Matronis nunquam flava coma dabatur, sed nigra. Huic (Didoni) ergo dat (Vergilius flavum crinem) quasi turpi.* In the Roman imperial period, a situation prevailed in Italy similar to what we have today on the Rhine and in southern Germany, namely that young people's hair is usually blond, but darkens as they grow up. In the 3rd and 4th centuries, the situation had already changed to such an extent that Servius believes that the blonde hair of Dido in Vergii can be interpreted as a deliberate insult. The hetaerae dyed their hair blonde in order to appear young for longer, but no longer for the purpose of giving themselves a more distinguished appearance.

A few years after Servius, who had tried in vain to revive the vanished antiquity from his study, the Roman Empire collapsed. Shortly before the end, patriotic men had believed they could hope for a rebirth of the decayed power. Alaric, the powerful king of the Visigoths, had invaded Italy in 402 as a prize belonging to those who seized it firmly. It was the first time in over six hundred years that such a humiliation had befallen Rome. In the plains of the Po, the king conquered and devastated one city after another. Even in Rome, people feared for the safety of the city and quickly began to build up the walls that had been

Romans

57

surrounding it. Then the Romans, led by the Vandal Stilicho, quickly managed to bring in several legions from Raetia and also to recruit Germanic auxiliaries. All of Italy breathed a sigh of relief. The greater the danger they were in, the more oppressive the fear that filled everyone, the more unreservedly they gave themselves over to the joy that Rome had triumphed over the barbarians. In the general jubilation, people hoped, with southern exaggeration, that a new era of Rome's resurgence was beginning. People forgot, or tried to forget, that the victorious general was a Vandal and that the troops

who won the victory were largely barbarians. Even after Stilicho's first victory, the poet Prudentius, in his second speech against Symmachus (657), had the "Roma" blissfully break out into the words: *Senium omne renascens deposui, vidique meam flavescere rursus canitiem*. It is significant that Prudentius himself admits, in the triumphant mood that inspired him, that the time that lay behind him resembled Rome's old age; the new bloom that is now supposed to have begun is to be seen externally in the fact that Rome is becoming blond again. It is only a figure of speech that the poet is uttering here. The greatness of Rome had nothing to do with the hair of its citizens, any more than a black-haired German today need be a less genuine Teuton than a blond one. Nevertheless, there is some truth in the word. The patriots' hopes for a new rise of Rome were, of course, illusory. Real Romans, who could have brought it about, had long been few and far between. The building that had once been erected with admirable strength had been robbed of its foundations. The fact that there were no more blondes was only an outward sign of its decay. The Roman *virtus* and *gravitas*, the Roman *severitas* had also dwindled. But the fact that this change in character and outward appearance coincided shows that the whole people had changed. The people who had once been able to wage the Punic wars and overcome the terrible catastrophe of Cannae with unparalleled heroism were no longer there.

The history of the following years shows how true this was with frightening clarity. The self-confidence of the Romans,

## 58 The hair color of the Indo-European peoples of antiquity

which had been boosted by the two victories of Stilicho and another in 405, quickly degenerated into arrogance. For some time it had become customary for Germanic peoples to occupy elevated positions - especially in the army. They had thus made the continued existence of the empire possible. Without their help, Rome would have been lost in 402. Now the barbarians were suddenly thought to be dispensable and the support they gave the Roman Empire was seen as a humiliation. The reawakened sense of self demanded their removal, and this indeed took place as quickly as it did completely. The Teutons disappeared from the army and the civil service, and as early as 408 Stilicho, who had been praised as the savior of the fatherland only three years earlier, was beheaded by his grateful emperor as a traitor. As a result, only two years passed before Aiarich broke into Italy again and was now able to conquer and plunder the whole of the country unhindered. Rome, which had once seen half the world at its feet, was also cruelly mistreated. From then on its empire was only a shadowy realm; its continued existence depended only on the unity of a few Germanic tribes, and for almost a thousand and a half years Germans determined the fate of Italy.

## II

List of the gods and heroes of antiquity to whom a hair color was attributed, as well as the persons whose hair color has survived